

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
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R 191600Z AUG 77  
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INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

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E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PBOR, J, IS, JO  
SUBJECT: PRESS COMMENTARY ARGUES THAT RECOGNITION OF PLO REINFORCES  
ISRAEL'S CLAIM TO THE WEST BANK

BEGIN SUMMARY: A NUMBER OF ARTICLES HAVE BEGUN TO APPEAR  
IN THE ISRAELI PRESS SETTING FORTH THE ARGUMENT THAT  
ISRAEL HAS A GOOD LEGAL CLAIM TO THE OCCUPIED  
TERRITORIES. ONE SUCH ARTICLE APPEARED IN DAVAR  
AUGUST 18 AND CLAIMED THAT THE PLO'S EFFORTS TO GAIN  
INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION WILL IRONICALLY STRENGTHEN  
ISRAEL'S CLAIM TO THE WEST BANK. THIS IS SO BECAUSE,  
IF THE PLO IS RECOGNIZED, THAT ELIMINATES JORDAN'S  
CLAIM TO THE WEST BANK AND THE PLO AND ISRAEL BECOME  
THE SUCCESSORS TO THE BRITISH MANDATE. END SUMMARY.

1. A THOUGHTFUL ARTICLE IN DAVAR AUGUST 18 BY HAGGAI  
ESHED SETS FORTH AN ARGUMENT BEGINNING TO APPEAR MORE  
FREQUENTLY IN THE ISRAELI PRESS -- THAT ISRAEL'S  
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LEGAL CLAIM TO THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IS A  
GOOD ONE. ESHED, WHO WAS DAVAR'S POLITICAL  
CORRESPONDENT SEVERAL YEARS AGO AND LEFT TO WORK  
AS ALMOGI'S SPOKESMAN IN THE JEWISH AGENCY AND  
WHO WAS ASSOCIATED FOR A TIME WITH FONMIN DAYAN  
IN THE LATTER'S SHORT-LIVED NEWSPAPER PUBLISHING  
EFFORT, IS CLOSE TO PERES AND THE RAFI FACTION

OF THE LABOR PARTY.

2. ESHED WROTE THAT: BEGIN TEXT: EVEN BEFORE VANCE SET OUT ON HIS MIDEAST TOUR, PRESIDENT CARTER ESTABLISHED THE NEW POLITICAL FACT THAT ALL, OR ALMOST ALL, DEPENDS ON THE PLO. ALL THAT IS NEEDED IS FOR THE PLO TO ADOPT 242 AND ADD TO IT A DEFINITION OF ITS OWN ON THE "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE."

3. THE MOST LIKELY OUTCOME OF THE ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE THE PLO IN THE ISRAEL-ARAB NEGOTIATIONS IS AN INCREASED LIKELIHOOD OF TOTAL WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THAT IS THE DANGEROUSLY PARADOXICAL SITUATION IN WHICH AMERICAN POLICY FINDS ITSELF. TO PREVENT WAR THE PLO IS TO BE RECOGNIZED AND EFFORTS ARE TO BE MADE TO INCLUDE IT IN NEGOTIATIONS, YET BY DOING SO THE DANGER OF WAR IS MAGNIFIED AND MADE ALMOST INEVITABLE. END TEXT.

4. ESHED GOES ON TO ARGUE THAT THE PLO HAS ALREADY DRAGGED THE MIDDLE EAST INTO TWO WARS: THE SIX-DAY WAR WAS ISRAEL'S REACTION TO A SERIES OF ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN BY THE PLO, BEGINNING IN 1965, AND THE CIVIL WAR IN LEBANON WAS ALSO CAUSED BY THE PLO. IRONICALLY THE RESULTS OF EACH OF THOSE HAVE IMPOSED ON THE ZIONISTS MOVEMENT AND ON ISRAEL CERTAIN OBJECTIVES AND RESULTS WHICH WERE MORE FAR-REACHING THAN ISRAELIS HAD

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SET FOR THEMSELVES -- THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM AND THE WEST BANK AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GOOD FENCE. IN THE SAME IRONIC FASHION THE PLO TODAY IS STRENGTHENING ISRAEL; ITS STRUGGLE FOR INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION WILL CONTRIBUTE TO RECOGNITION OF THE LEGAL CLAIM OF ISRAEL TO THE WEST BANK: BEGIN TEXT: INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THE PLO MEANS THAT JORDAN IS ELIMINATED FROM THE AREA OF WESTERN ERETZ ISRAEL. IT MEANS THAT JORDAN IS NOT THE SUCCESSOR TO THE MANDATE UNDER THE TERMS OF THE PARTITION RESOLUTION OF 1947. THE RECOGNITION OF THE PLO EMPHASIZES THE LEGAL REALITY THAT ISRAEL IS THE SOLE SUCCESSOR TO THE MANDATE IN THE TERRITORY OF WESTERN GREATER ISRAEL, AND THAT THE TERRITORIES OF JEDEA AND SMARIA AS WELL AS THE GAZA STRIP ARE FORMER MANDATORY TERRITORIES OVER WHICH NO OTHER SOVEREIGNTY HAS BEEN EXERCISED TO THIS DAY. IT CAN, THEREFORE, BE STATED MOST EMPHATICALLY THAT THE MANDATORY PROVISIONS APPROVED BY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ARE APPLICABLE TO THESE TERRITORIES TODAY.

5. THE BRITISH MANDATE WAS BASED ON AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE HISTORICAL LINK BETWEEN THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND

ERETZ ISRAEL, MEANING WESTERN AND EASTERN ERETZ ISRAEL, THAT IS TO SAY INCLUDING JORDAN. THE BALFOUR DECLARATION AND THE MANDATE DO NOT INCLUDE ANY REFERENCE TO OR RECOGNITION OF A PALESTINIAN ARAB NATION OR ITS NATIONAL RIGHTS. THEY ONLY SPEAK OF THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF THE NON JEWISH COMMUNITIES AND OF THE INHABITANTS AS INDIVIDUALS. REFERENCES IN 242 ARE ALSO TO REFUGEES ONLY. THE PLO COULD HAVE CLAIMED ARAB NATIONAL RIGHTS IN PALESTINE, IF AT ALL, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE 1947 PARTITION RESOLUTION. HOWEVER, THE ARAB COUNTRIES PREVENTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH AN ARAB STATE AND INVADDED THE TERRITORY DESTINED FOR IT. JORDAN DISQUALIFIED ITSELF BY INVASION AND ANNEXATION; THE PLO ITSELF DOES NOT RECOGNIZE JORDAN'S LEGALITY AND RE-

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JETS IT OUTRIGHT IN THE COVENANT. END TEXT

6. THE CONTINUING EFFORTS OF THE PLO TO GAIN WORLD ACCEPTANCE WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO UNDERMINING JORDAN BECAUSE JORDAN CANNOT EXIST AS A NATION WITHOUT ITS PALESTINIAN CITIZENS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SYRIANS ARE CHALLENGING THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS TO AN INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ENTITY. ESHED CONCLUDES THAT ALL OF THESE FACTORS ARE OVERLOOKED BY THOSE WHO ARGUE FOR INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THE PLO AND ITS CLAIMS WITHOUT INSISTING ON A CHANGE IN THE PALESTINIAN COVENANT.

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## Message Attributes

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